# The Nation.

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### The Week.

THE President's Message in response to the resolution calling on him for information about the Louisiana matter, maintains that the United States Circuit Court had jurisdiction in the case of Kellogg v. Warmoth in 1872, and also in the case of Antoine, but admits that some of the orders made in both cases were illegal; that nevertheless the process of the Courts having been resisted (there is no proof of this) he felt it to be his duty to employ the troops to enforce it; that whether Kellogg was or was not fairly elected subsequently is doubtful, but that it seems clear that McEnery was not lawfully elected either; that during the troubles arising out of these disputes there was a fight at Colfax, at which there was a barbarous butchery of over thirty-seven negroes; that there were six young men, some of them Republicans and office-holders under Kellogg, also murdered at Coushatta; that "many murders of a like character" were committed in other parts of the State; that the White Leaguers, in answer to a proclamation from Penn, the soi-disant Lieutenant-Governor, rose and overpowered the Kellogg government in September, 1874; that troops were sent down in consequence to put down this insurrection; that there was "intimidation" of Republican voters at the ensuing election-in proof of which he cites a paper signed by certain merchants of Shreveport agreeing to employ nobody who voted the Radical ticket, a piece of "intimidation" which Senators Morton and Conkling must laugh over heartily, in their sleeves; that he does not know whether the Returning Board acted honestly or hot-he suggests that the long delay in canvassing the votes was due to the arguments of lawyers; but that he knows that it had the legal power to do what it pleased; that he had no knowledge and no idea that the troops were going to interfere with the organization of the legislature, and does not think such interference justifiable, but holds that there were circumstances connected "with the legislative imbroglio in Louisiana which seem to exempt the military from any intentional wrong in the matter": that if a mob or body of unauthorized persons seize and hold the legislative hall in a tumultuous and riotous manner, so as to prevent any organization by those legally returned as elected, it may become the Juty of the State executive to interpose, if requested by a majority of the members-elect; that if the Governor in Louisiana had attempted to use the police for this purpose there would have been a bloody conflict with the "White League," so he had to use the troops. He then gives an account of what occurred in the hallsubstantially the same as General Sheridan's; says that whether the Governor had the right to interfere under the circumstances is "perhaps a debatable question"; eulogizes General Sheridan; disclaims all desire to have troops interfere in the domestic concerns of any State; and maintains that troops sent down to preserve order in a disturbed district must act in emergencies on the judgment of the commanding officer, who, as soldiers are not lawyers, are liable to make mistakes. He concludes by calling on Congress once more to settle what his duty is in the Louisiana matter, and promises to carry out their enactment in spirit and letter.

He appends to the message various justificatory documents (mainly loud "calls" for troops from Kellogg and Packard and others, on the ground that there was going to be "intimidation" during the registration), and the confidential instructions of the War Department to General Sheridan, the gist of which is that he is to make a trip in the States of Mississippi and Louisiana, see what the true condition of affairs is there, and send such suggestions to the President as may seem "reasonable and judicious." There

is also a report from General Sheridan on "murders" and "outrages," declaring that 3,500 persons—the majority colored—have been killed and wounded on account of their political opinions within the State since 1866. He acknowledges, however, that he has no proof of this, as since 1868 no official or judicial investigation has been made. He has, nevertheless, he says, "ample evidence" that there have been 1,200 murders on account of politics since 1868, but does not say what it is he considers "ample evidence"; nor does he say what is "the mass of evidence" which "lies before him" of 183 "isolated nurders" in various parishes which he names. He must pardon us for saying that what passes as evidence with angry cavalry officers does not always pass with either lawyers or logicians, and that since Mr. Hayes's Alabama murders, we are somewhat incredulous about these appalling murders of negroes just before election.

It is not fair for the President to say that soldiers are not lawyers. General Sheridan, as we pointed out last week, is, on his own showing, one of the greatest lawyers in the country. He is not only, too, a great master of parliamentary and constitutional law, as appears from his reports, but he feels equal to the peculiarly delicate task of legislating for a region in which "the air is impregnated with assassination" and one-half the population ready to cut the throats of the other half. He is, however, by no means the only person whose legal attainments have been first revealed by this Louisiana affair. At the meeting in Boston recently held to protest against the military interference with the organization of the legislature in Louisiana, Mr. Wendell Phillips made a speech, in which he hurled defiance at all lawyers present and to come, and staked his great legal reputation on the soundness of the proposition, that if there be any unfairness in the election of the speaker of a legislative body, or if any persons, even five per cent. of those present and participating, have not been returned as elected by the canvassers, the assemblage becomes ipso facto illegal, or liable to dispersal as a mob by the executive. It does not seem to have occurred to this great thinker that if this were good law it would have become a settled usage of parliamentary bodies to assemble and organize either in secret recesses of the woods and mountains or in fortified buildings and behind locked doors, because in the warfare which lasted for so many years between parliament and the executive the latter would be sure to have found cause between the calling of the roll and the election of the speaker for the dispersal of the members. Either he would have put his creatures up to making a disturbance, or he would have got outsiders to smuggle themselves into the hall to take part in the proceedings, and so furnish him with a good reason for coming down with the troops. The fact is, however, that the doctrine is only about a month old. Parliaments had been in existence a thousand years before it was heard of. It has owed its origin to the effect of the Louisiana imbroglio on the sensorium of Mr. Phillips and some other wiser people who think that a government of men is better than a government of laws.

The Sub-Committee, composed of Messrs. Clarkson Potter of New York, Phelps of New Jersey, Foster of Ohio (one Democrat and two Republicans), which went down to New Orleans to investigate the state of things in Louisiana, and was luckily present when the late military interference occurred, have returned, and made a report, which has probably attracted more attention than any document of a similar character which has been laid before the country for a long time, first because it is unanimous, instead of, as is usual, giving a Republican and a Democratic version; and, secondly, because the story it tells is totally opposed to the one which the Administration and its friends have been for some time telling the public—opposed, let us add, to the version which is necessary to keep the Republican party on its legs. The

three members of the Sub-Committee, too, are men of high standing and character-two of them lawyers, and all of them men of acuteness and judgment. They only stayed in New Orleans eight days, but they took 1,500 printed pages of testimony, and tried to get at the facts in the matter of intimidation by asking the Radicals to select parishes as good examples of what was worst in Conservative doings, and confining the enquiry to them. In Rapides Parish, for instance, three Conservatives were returned to the legislature by an election which the United States Supervisor certified as fair and peaceable. But before the Returning Board reached its decision, it declared all the Republicans elected, on the strength of the affidavit of its president, a Mr. Wells, that there had been intimidation in the parish. This was not brought to the notice of the Democratic counsel before the Board, and they had no opportunity to contradict it. The Sub-Committee in vain invited Wells to appear before them. He deelined to do so, or to appear personally before anybody, but offered to send them written depositions, and, to crown all, it turned out he was not himself in the parish on the day of the election.

In short, neither in Rapides Parish, nor in the other parishes which they examined, did the Sub-Committee discover any proof of the intimidation on which the Returning Board altered the vote; nor did they light on any traces of the alleged outrages, although they offered every inducement in their power for persons of all classes to come forward and prove them. They cite one remarkable illustration of the way in which stories of intimidation are got up. Mr. Riddle, the United States Commissioner, issued a large number of warrants against white persons, on the application of colored persons, shortly before the election, and required the persons arrested to find bail, secured by real estate within the parish. As this would have caused great delay or difficulty, the friends of the persons arrested went to him in a long procession, each member offering his bond; this the Commissioner treated not only as derisive of his proceedings, but as "intimidation." The Sub-Committee close by a general review of the state of things in Louisiana, as it appeared to them, which we wish we could extract bodily. It may best be summed up by saying that under the existing government the judges have been corrupted; a board of the Governor's appointees has absolute control over the elections; the mode of trying titles to office is extraordinary; the city police is an armed military force, maintained by the city, but commanded by the Governor; the constitution has been evaded by substitution of appointed for elective judges, by extraordinary burdens of taxation, and measures of unusual and unprecedented severity against persons in arrears. In short, there is a general want of confidence in the government; complete prostration of business, and depreciation of private property and of the public securities, which have fallen in two years from 70 and 80 to 25; an increase of taxation "almost literally to the extent of confiscation"; and, as a natural consequence of these things, a general resort on the part of the negroes of the rural districts to petty marauding as a means of livelihood.

Mr. E. W. Stoughton has written a letter to the Times on the occurrences in Louisiana which has given much comfort to the friends of the Administration, but very much more than a close examination of the letter will account for. Apart from expressions of confidence in the goodness of the President and General Sheridan's and General De Trobriand's intentions, and in the sagacity of the members of the Cabinet, and of a sense of the desirableness of waiting for full particulars before making up our minds, what Mr. Stoughton has to say is that the body which General De Trobriand interfered with was not a "lawful legislature, peaceably as mbled," but "a lawless body, which had come into existence by violence and fraud." His version of the facts on which these conclusions are based is that one hundred and two persons lawfully elect d members of the legislature entered the hall at the appointed hear, and their names were called over, according to law, by the clerk of the

old House, and that immediately thereafter, by a hocus-pocus vote, in which five persons present whose names were not on the roll took part, Wiltz, the Conservative candidate, was elected Speaker, and sprang forward and took the chair, by force or surprise; and that thereupon, in the presence of the Radical members, the five persons above-named were declared duly returned as members of the Assembly. This is the whole of Mr. Stoughton's story. Now, if these occurrences—that is, the unfair or fraudulent election of the Speaker-converted the persons present into "a lawless body, forcibly assembled," and gave the Governor the right to interfere, it was his duty to have cleared the hall and made it ready for the lawful occupants. But, according to Mr. Stoughton, he did nothing of the kind. He simply sent soldiers in to remove the five persons who, as he thought, had not been properly returned. The rest of the "conspirators," as Mr. Stoughton calls them, he left in the hall, to continue their wicked work, whatever it was, and prevent the meeting of the lawful legislature, and there they remained, or might have remained, to this day.

We think, however, it is plain as a pikestaff, on Mr. Stoughton's own showing, that the body of persons who assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives were not, as he would have us believe, a lawless mob, but the materials of the lawful legislature. That they assembled peaceably and regularly is shown by the fact, which Mr. Stoughton acknowledges, that the clerk of the old House called the roll in proper form. That the body as it stood at this point did not possess the rights and privileges of a parliamentary body, because it had not yet elected its speaker, and might lawfully be set upon by troops and dispersed, is a doctrine for which, we say it with all deference, Mr. Stoughton is unable to produce a shadow of authority either in dictum, decision, or precedent. What happened afterwards was that this lawful parliamentary body, peaceably assembled, did not elect a speaker in a manner which an outsider named Kellogg thought proper. Certain persons were allowed to vote whom an outsider named Kellogg thought not qualified, and he therefore interfered, not to disperse a mob, as in Mr. Stoughton's theory he ought to have done, but to arrest five persons sitting in the House in the presence of a lawful quorum of the House. In short, if Mr. Stoughton's law were good, any governor might go down with troops when a legislature was about to elect a speaker, and break the body up, on the ground that there were outsiders in the House or that the proceedings were not fair; whereas the immemorial usage of parliament is that, a quorum of legally returned members being present, they are sole judges and arbiters of the rightfulness and wrongfulness of everything that occurs subsequently, and, even if a quorum be not present, they have the right to adjourn from day to day, and arrest and compel the attendance of the absentees, and nobody has the shadow of authority to interfere with them.

Congress is getting on very slowly with its work, and it looks as if very little would be done by the 4th of March beyond the passage of the Appropriation Bills. The debate on the Louisiana interference has recently occupied much of the time, and the reimposition of taxation promises to occupy much more. Last week, Mr. a supplementary specie-payment bill in the Kasson introduc House, to provide for the destruction of retired legal-tenders; and the House passed a bill, reported from the Banking and Currency Committee, removing the limitation on the circulation of gold banks. On Wednesday the President's message on Louisiana was received in the Senate, and a long debate took place in the House on the report of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the changes made in the tariff by the revised statutes. Many complaints have been made in some of the newspapers hat the committee which had in charge the collification of the statutes had made material alterations in the laws; but the fact seems to be more probably that there arose in the revision of the statutes great difficulty of determining exactly what the tariff laws acwere in particular cases, owing to the multiplicity tually

of opinions, often conflicting, delivered by Government offi-This matter was referred, after some debate, to the Committee on the Revision of the Laws. On the same day an attack was made by the Democrats on the Indian Department, and particularly on the appointment of Orville Grant, the President's brother, as trader at one of the Indian agencies, which Mr. Beck declared to be in contravention of the Intercourse Law of June 30, 1834. On the same day, Mr. George H. Boker of Philadelphia was confirmed by the Senate as Minister to Russia. On Friday, the bill for the sale of the Japanese indemnity bonds and the distribution of the proceeds was rejected, and the report of the Louisiana Investigating Committee was presented. The Senate on Monday rejected a proposition to reduce the salary of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and discussed the proposed Bureau of Commerce and Statistics. The House passed a bill to pay \$25,000 for Kalakaua's visit, and the Committee on the District of Columbia made a report, showing gross mismanagement under Shepherd.

The President has approved the Finance Bill recently passed, and accompanied his approval with a message which, in one respect at least, is very remarkable, and illustrates the extraordinary way in which the majority in Congress attends to some of the most important business of the country. The Currency Bill, we need hardly say, was intended to be one of the most important pieces of legislation since the war, being neither more nor less than an attempt to rescue the currency of a great commercial nation from the disorder of fourteen years of war and turmoil. If ever there was a bill, therefore, which called for careful debate, it was this. In any other civilized legislature, it is safe to say, it would have been discussed for a couple of weeks in each House, and light thrown on it from every quarter, and it would probably have been prepared after a careful enquiry by a committee. As a matter of fact, however, it was not debated at all, and was concocted in a caucus. In the Senate, it passed almost on a brief statement from Mr. Sherman. In the House, it was not even referred to a committee at all, and was put through without comment under the previous question.

The result is that the President, who, in company with the Evening Post, looks on it as a bonâ-fide financial scheme, or else pretends that he does, has now produced in a message, in the simplest way, the various considerations which members of the legislature should have produced in debate. He points out that if we are going to resume specie payments in 1879, as the bill provides, we must make some provision by increased taxation both for the requisite annual contribution-about \$30,000,000-to the sinking fund, and for the redemption of the \$80,000,000 of greenbacks of which the bill contemplates the withdrawal whenever \$100,000,000 are issued in national-bank notes; and for this purpose he suggests the restoration of the duty on tea and coffee, and the repeal of the ten per cent. reduction made on certain articles on the tariff in June, 1872. He is apparently much more enlightened about the laws of a silver currency than he was in 1873, and mentions, as somebody eight to have mentioned in the House, that the provision of the bill for the substitution of silver coins for the fractional currency cannot be carried out while the premium on gold is over ten per cent., inasmuch as the silver would at this rate be exported as fast as coined. He perceives now clearly that you cannot keep coin afloat in company with a legal-tender of lower value, even with the aid of "the previous question." By way of preparing for resumption in gold, he suggests that the Secretary should be in the meantime empowered to redeem legal-tender notes, in sums not less than \$100, at the rate of 110, less interest at the rate of two and a half per cent. per annum from the 1st of January, 1875, and "iminishing the premium from time to time until 1879. He fixes the rate at "the preenbacks should be redeemed at ten por ent. because, at this rate, silver would stay affoat; and he calls or a new mint, 'n order to produce in amount of silver cont which the execution of the law will require. But Congress, to be consistent, ought to as the message on the table without allowing it to

The Pacific Mail enquiry is still going on, and at one time during the week promised to lead to valuable results, in the discovery of some half-a-dozen members who, at the time of the passage of the subsidy, were seen going about with suspicious thousand-dollar bills in their possession. These bills, according to the testimony of one Dillon, clerk of the Sergeant-at-arms, were either "broken up" or deposited with this officer, but an examination of the latter's books seems to show no traces of them, and the conclusion is that they were simply broken up. Irwin has got himself taken before a judge on habeas corpus, and still declines to make any disclosures, though it seems he holds private audiences, now and then, in which he makes dark insinuations as to knowledge of the subsidy corruption possessed by various persons. On Monday, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the editor of the Tribune, appeared before the Committee, and was asked to explain some remarks of the Tribune on the scandal. He mentioned one or two persons whom he thought, without knowing anything of his own knowledge, might aid the Committee in their enquiries; but the chief interest of his examination turned on a paragraph or article referring to two members of Congress as being currently reported to be implicated. The Committee very foolishly asked Mr. Reid who these Congressmen were, when they had the pleasure of learning that they were Messrs. Dawes and Wood. Mr. Reid, however, stated that he only mentioned the rumor as one which was current, and it apparently came from "well-informed" circles in Wall Street.

On Monday, the 18th, Major George E. Head entered the Vicksburg sheriff's office with a squad of troops, and drove out the sheriff, Mr. J. A. Flanagan. Flanagan is Crosby's successor, he having been elected sheriff on the Conservative ticket towards the end of last month after Crosby's ejection, and was in full legal possession of the office, there not having been even a case at law on the subject. Major Head, having driven Flanagan out, retired for a brief consultation, not with the General commanding the Department, or even the Governor of the State, but with "Chancellor Hill," who we should suppose from his title had merely an equitable jurisdiction, but who by some process best known to himself immediately appointed one William H. McGhee sheriff pro tem., McGhee having been deputy under Crosby. These proceedings are so monstrous and unprecedented, even in the South, that we must confess our inability to characterize them properly. They are, on the facts now stated, worse than anything done in Louisiana, for not even a pretence of law is made, but the military, in collusion with a judge, arrange the government as they please on the Mexican plan. It will, no doubt, be defended on the ground that two months ago some negroes were unjustly and cruelly killed by the Vicksburg whites, but we believe that the public understand this kind of argument now pretty well.

The only news from Europe of much moment is that Mr. Gladstone has formally resigned the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. This was foreshadowed in the letter of our correspondent weeks ago, and in the same place will be found some useful speculation as to his probable successor. The publication of the pamphlet on the Papacy was one more added to the eauses which had before his late defeat done much to unfit him for the place. There is now a fair prospect that the Conservatives will stay in power, in the absence of any sudden cataclysm, for five or ten years, and they will be kept there by the thoroughly lethargic temper of the public. This period would undoubtedly bring Mr. Gladstone to the close of his working career, and he is by no means very able in opposition. He has a singularly fertile and acute mind, and shines most of all in suggestion and origination. His scmewhat morbid conscientiousness, on the other hand, makes him a " r critic or assailant, and he therefore probably does wisely in se ag well-won repose. The a arance of another article from his poin the Edinburgh Review on the Papal question makes it see ... if he were going to make this a specialty. The successor most talked of at this moment is Mr. Forster, who has undoubtedly the requisite weight for the place, but would as a debater fill it only indifferently.

#### TRICKS OF INTERPRETATION.

THE Evening Post had the other day some excellent observations on what Mr. Summer called "the sleeping giant of the Constitution," or, in plain English, that clause of the Constitution which directs the United States Government to "guarantee a republican form of government" to the various States. The Post pointed out that the modern interpretation of this clause is "wholly a modern discovery"; that "the adjective 'sleeping' was applied to the clause because no one had ever previously thought of using it for its present purpose, and the substantive 'giant' was applied to it because it was thought to yield an ample constitutional power. authorizing the nation to do what at that time it felt disposed to do." They who flattered themselves that, after the war was over and the work of Reconstruction completed, "the giant" would be allowed to sleep, are evidently mistaken; for the proposal to interfere again in Louisiana by ordering a new election, which is now before Congress, and the proposal to interfere in Arkansas by overturning the present State constitution, which a powerful carpet-bag lobby is now urging on Congress, are both plans for waking "the giant" up and setting him to work, and, more than this, for keeping him awake and active as long as the Government lasts. The pretext, and the sole one, on which Congress talks of interfering in Louisiana is that, inasmuch as the last election was unfair, the State does not possess a "republican form of government"; the pretext, and the sole one, on which Congress is asked to interfere in Arkansas, is that the constitution, though confessedly adopted by a large majority of the people, was not submitted to them in the manner prescribed by the previous constitution, or, in other words, was adopted in an irregular manner. It is an easy inference, and an inevitable one, that if the construction of the Constitution on which these schemes are based should prevail, the States would be reduced to the level of municipalities, and the State constitutions to that of city charters. If Congress has power to "order a new election" in Louisiana, it has exactly the same power in Massachusetts; if it has the power to set aside the Arkansas constitution, it has the power to set aside the late amendments to the constitution of this State. In fact, as is now, we are glad to say, becoming obvious to people at the North ever since the readmission of the Southern States to the Union, whatever affects the relations of the General Government to those States affects its relations to all the States; and whatever the majority in Congress may be allowed to do when composed of virtuous and well-meaning men, it must be allowed to do when composed of wicked and designing men.

We are not disposed to find fault with the various expedients resorted to by the anti-slavery men at the North both to carry on the war and to procure through the war the destruction of slavery, just as we have never been disposed to find fault with Mr. Chase for issuing the legal-tenders. There are some crises in which a struggle for the strict construction of constitutions and statutes is very like the race, with the mob at his heels, of the Master of the Ceremonies at Versailles after Lafayette towards the royal apartments, shouting to him, in order to save the court etiquette from a total overthrow, that the King permitted him the "grandes entrées." When men are dying for a certain object by the ten thousand, to tell them their views are unconstitutional has an air of ghastly absurdity about it. Things that are done in war are hardly more likely to be drawn into precedent in time of peace than an officer who makes requisitions on the march is likely to rob on the highway after he returns home. The danger to free government from war begins after the hostilities are over, and lies in the desire and attempt of those who have been carrying on the war to keep up its doctrines and methods in quiet times and convert them into political usages. Therefore, although it made very little difference on what constitutional theory the slaves were freed or Southern cities occupied and governed between 1861 and 1866, it makes a great deal of difference on what constitutional theory the President sends troops down to New Orleans in 1875. Mr. Sumner's sleeping giant was a very harmless monster while the cannon were roaring.

and he could be put to some work suited to his capacity in the field, and when he could comfort Mr. Sumner without injuring anybody else. But now that we are settling down on the principles and practices on which the nation means to live during a thousand years of peace, it is proper to say that the giant is not, as one might suppose, a creature of enormous power, but a common trickster or "confidence man," who ought not to be allowed to open his lips in any assembly of honest people.

It is plain to be seen by the proposals made with regard to Louisiana, that the purpose of the majority in Congress is to give the phrase "republican form of government" not only a wider meaning than that in which the framers of the Constitution used it, or than the civilized world now attaches to it, but a meaning which will cover almost unlimited Federal interference in State affairs. What the majority in Congress now mean by a "republican form of government" is a government satisfactory to them, or a government set up in a way satisfactory to them, no matter how carefully the marks of a republic may be preserved in the Constitution. For instance, if there has been fraud or intimidation at the election of the governor or legislature, they are disposed not only to treat fraud or intimidation as depriving the Government of its republican character, but to decide themselves how much fraud or intimidation is necessary for the purpose. But they will not specify how many votes must be falsely cast, or how many voters "intimidated," in order to warrant Congress in "ordering a new election" and the President in sending down troops; and, as far as appears now, any number of fraudulent votes, or any amount of intimidation which deprives the party in power of a working majority, would suffice. "Intimidation," too, is a word of course of the vaguest kind, of which there exists no legal definition. Anything which frightens a man, or which he says frightens him, will come under that head in the estimation of the present and last Congress. As one can only know from the man himself whether he was frightened or not, all that is necessary under the ruling theory to warrant Congress in setting aside an election is that one or more persons shall say that they were prevented from voting through fear. For instance, the Government, as Mr. Schurz pointed out in the happiest way in his late speech, is the greatest intimidator of voters in existence--the "champion intimidator," as he termed it. At every election it "intimidates" all persons in its service-about 60,000 in all-by threatening them with the loss of their places in case they vote against the party to which the President belongs; and it carries out this threat. Nevertheless, under the Enforcement Acts a private citizen who does this with his employés is liable to criminal prosecution, and large numbers of persons in Louisiana and Alabama were at the late elections arrested for this offence and dragged from their homes to find bail at great distances; and Congress claims the right on such charges not only to have persons guilty of them punished, but to overturn the State government. We need hardly say that no election ever occurs either at the North or South in which there is not some intimidation and some fraud; and if we allow the majority in Congress to decide that any fraud or intimidation destroys the republican character of the State government, and rouses "the sleeping giant," of course the State government becomes an expensive and useless mockery, and the best thing to be done is to attach a bureau of State Administration to the custom-houses or post-offices, and turn the collectors or postmasters into prefects.

The truth is, and it is a very melancholy truth, that in the efforts to cover not only what has been done at the South, but what in the estimation of every good Republican had to be done in order to make the colored people a true part of the body politic, a large portion of the party (and in some respects the best portion of it) has worked itself into what may be called a thoroughly dishonest frame of mind, in which it is ready for any trick, whether of interpretation or policy, which may seem necessary to the great end in view. The plan of interpreting and construing the Constitution so as to get out of it, not what the framers meant, or what any generation since the framers understood it to mean, but what it would now be convenient to one party or the other to have it mean, was originated in the heat

of the anti-slavery struggle. To say that it is thoroughly dishonest is only passing on it a portion of the condemnation which it deserves. It must also be said that the work of forced construction for any purpose, however high or holy, is one of the basest and most debasing in which the human mind can engage. It has produced in past times some of the very worst and most mischievous examples of moral as well as intellectual degradation. The man who introduces it as one of the weapons of political warfare into a country like this is the agent of a worse corruption than any of the "Bosses" have been guilty of. That Mr. Sumner should have rejoiced in being the discoverer of one of its devices, and should have prided himself on the use of it, is simply a dismal reminiscence, of which his friends ought to be ashamed. His "giant" was a wretched impostor. He (Mr. Sumner) knew that the Constitution, when made, did not mean that a republican form of government must necessarily be based on universal suffrage. He knew that the present generation did not so understand it. He knew that no one ever dreamed of supposing that a government ceases to be republican if an election is marked by frauds or disorders. He knew, too, that for the party in power to attach new meanings to certain terms in the Constitution was simply to amend the Constitution, not in the regular and honest way. but by a trick, by which the minority, for whose protection the Constitution was made, was defrauded of its just rights. The consolation honest men have in witnessing these dodges on the part of men pluming themselves on their morality, is that they cannot succeed except for a brief period. Unserupulousness on one side prodaces counter-unscrupulousness on the other, and excess begets reaction. The reckless course which the Republican party is now pursuing will undoubtedly before long bring the Democrats into power, and when in power they will undoubtedly arm themselves with weapons from the Republican arsenal. The "giant" will be waked up, and forced to do dirty work for the Democrats as he did it for the Republicans. For the outrageous legislation of the Republican party for the protection of the colored voters will be substituted, not moderate, reasonable, and legal protection, but the absence of all protection. For the reckless use of the troops at the South will be substituted the total withdrawal of the troops; and we feel sure that the shameless effrontery recently displayed in the manufacture of "outrages" will be succeeded by indifference regarding all negro disabilities or sufferings. If anybody doubts these predictions, let him read the justifications of Sheridan's interference with the Louisiana Legislature which one now finds in many Republican papers, on the ground that Pierce and the Democrats committed and applauded the same violence when committed against the Legislature of Kansas, and that General De Trobriand was first called in at New Orleans by the Demccratic side.

#### THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR LOUISIANA.

LTHOUGH the government headed by Kellogg is conceded by all except a comparatively few bitter and blind partisans to be an impudent usurpation, sustained in place by the United States soldiery alone; although an election has just been held in which the wishes of the people were unmistakably made known; and although the special report of a committee, composed of three as honest, fair-minded, and judicious men as could have been selected from the whole House of Representatives, shows that this election was conducted without the slightest wrong on the part of the actual majority, and that the interference and "intimidation," if any, were from the other side, yet in the face of these facts-facts which are undeniable, and which cannot be covered up by the most vigorous expedients of diligent partisanship—the President advises Congress to order a new election; and the current of opinion among those more moderata Republicans who are unwilling to deliver over the State completely into the hands of Kellogg, Casey, and their associates, seems to be tending towards the adoption of his plan. A bill has already been introduced into the House by Mr. Butler, and will, it

is said, be reported by the Judiciary Committee, which authorizes such an election and provides for carrying this purpose into effect. Although the proposed bill may receive some modifications in its course through the Committee and the two Houses, yet if passed it will necessarily include all the substantial features which are found in it at present. In all the provisions involving matters of principle —the powers of the national legislature, the relations of the Federal and the State governments, and the constitutional rights of the States themselves - any statute which should be enacted by Congress purporting to earry into effect the objects of this bill, could not differ from it in essential particulars. The criticisms upon Mr. Butler's method will therefore apply to any other plan for accomplishing the same design, because they will be directed not to the mere forms, the incidents, but to the very object itself which is sought to be attained. The important provisions of this proposed act-and of any other one which may be substituted in its place-are the following: the President appoints two chief commissioners, one from each party, who are to have exclusive control of the election; these chiefs in turn appoint subordinate officials, in pairs, for every election district throughout the State; within a si ecified time these local officers are to cause a new registration to be made of all the legal voters according to the requirements of the State laws, ample authority being conferred upon them for that purpose; on a certain day named an election is to be held under the control of the chief commissioners and their subordinates for all the State officers who are elective, including members of the legislature, minute provisions being made for the conduct of the election, the canvass of the votes, and the announcement of the result; all the ordinary violations of election laws are guarded against by heavy penalties, and in addition to these the vague offence of "intimidation" is expressly named; persons who shall claim any of the offices by virtue or under color of other elections or modes of choice are to be severely punished; exclusive jurisdiction is given to the United States Circuit Court over all criminal prosecutions arising out of a violation of the penal clauses of the statute; finally, the United States military forces may be used to aid in all such criminal proceedings, both in the service of process and in the enforcement of the judgments, and may also be used to repress violence or intimidation, and to preserve order during the election and during the preliminary process of registration. The persons who are found to have been chosen at this election for the various offices shall become the lawful holders of such offices, anything in the State constitution and laws to the contrary notwithstanding. The title of this bill is noteworthy: "An Act to provide for a general election in the State of Louisiana and to secure a republican form of government in such

Granting that there exists a very serious crisis in the political affairs of Louisiana, from which it is difficult to escape and to preserve the peace by any ordinary modes of administration-granting even that the immediate, direct, and practical result of the statute would be a fair, orderly, and quiet election, in which the will of the people would find a true expression, and that the persons chosen through its means would be the representatives of a majority of the electors and would thenceforward conduct the local administration in a proper manner, respecting and protecting the private and publie rights of all classes of citizens-granting, in short, that all the immediate benefits to the State which its warmest friends could anticipate or hope would be fully obtained, there are still grave objections to such a mode of procedure in a constitutional government which must far outweigh all the advantages, however certain and sudden. The evils to be apprehended from wrong political precedents in a country like our own, in which the whole law, private and public, is developed from and built upon precedents, are so enormous that their disastrous consequences should be ever kept present in the sight of the legislators who make, and of the people who approve, them. Notwithstanding the extraordinary power possessed by the United States Supreme Court in the last resort to pass upon the validity of a statute of Congress and to pronounce it unconstitutional and void, this power is limited in its : ction and comparatively weak in its efficiency, because it can only be invoked to determine private rights by the decision of private controversies; it cannot invade the domain of purely political administration or legislation. The limitations imposed upon Congress by the Constitution in respect of all matters political in their nature, which create political relations rather than private rights and duties, cannot be enforced by the judgments of courts. Their only sanction is a moral one—the restraining force of popular opinion. The interpretation of the grants of power made to the legislature must be primarily established by itself and finally by the people which it represents.

The language of the Constitution which confers a power upon the Federal Government to interfere under certain circumstances in the local affairs of a State, is so simple and plain that there is no room for construction. Louisiana is in all respects a State; its relations with the Union are normal; it stands in exactly the same position as that occupied by New York or any other of the commonwealths. As the legal status is thus defined, neither the President nor Congress can deal with it in an exceptional manner. The only portion of the Constitution which furnishes any appearance of authority for the measure under discussion is Section IV. of the IVth Article: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence." The case of an invasion may, of course, be laid out of view. Whatever may have been the facts during the two years preceding the last fall, there can be no shadow of pretence, in the face of the report just made to Congress by Messrs. Foster, Phelps, and Potter, that any domestic violence existed during the recent election or the registration preliminary thereto, or at the time when the legislature convened, which would have justified a demand upon the President for aid, or a compliance on his part if the demand were made. But even if such domestic violence had existed, the remedy contemplated by the Constitution is simply the repression of the unlawful resistance by the military arm of the nation. No authority can be found in the particular provision for Congress to interfere by its statute and to order and conduct a new election. All that the clause calls for in any event is Executive action, directed to the single end of subduing the internal violence. The author of the bill shows by the title which he gave it that he does not claim any authority for the measure in the grant of power to protect a State against domestic violence; he rests it alone upon the other clause respecting a republican form of government. A vast meaning and import were given to these simple words by Mr. Sumner and a few others, who even found in them a sufficient authority for Congress to regulate the right of suffrage in the States, but their wild vagaries are hardly worthy of sober argument.

The precise language of the provision is noteworthy: The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government. There would seem to be, therefore, but one case in which the power here conferred can be made efficient; but this interpretation may be regarded as too refined, and we will concede that the language covers two distinct cases, and these certainly exhaust all its possible meanings. First: If the people of a State should adopt a constitution and scheme of government which was not republican in form, the United States may interfere, and, under its obligations to the minority of the citizens of that commonwealth as well as to the citizens of all the other States, who have an interest in what concerns the whole country, may set aside the attempted government, and in some manner may establish, or permit to be established, another in its place which shall be republican in form. There is, of course, no pretence that this condition of affairs exists, or has existed, in Louisiana. Its constitution and governmental system are confessedly without fault, and were expressly approved and ratified by Congress. Secondly: The only other possible case would arise when a State constitution and government had been already adopted, republican in form, but by means of an organized and forcible resistance of sufficient magnitude to the lawful officers—a domestic insurrec-

tion, in fact-this government was prevented from administering the public affairs, and was either actually overthrown or was in imminent danger of being thus overthrown. Under such circumstances, the interference of the United States to repress the violence, to overpower the armed array, to quell the insurrection, and to restore and uphold the lawful authorities, might be considered as a mode of guaranteeing to the State a republican form of government. But this is also the very case provided for in the clause of the Constitution first quoted, which authorizes protection against domestic violence; and, plainly, neither the President nor the Congress has any authority, as a step in the suppression of the domestic violence, to sweep away the State laws and order and conduct an election. It is enough to say, however, in reference to this second case, that such a condition of affairs does not exist in Louisiana. There is no resistance, no attempt to overthrow the constitution or to abolish the government. The only controversy is between persons claiming to have been elected to certain offices, and this dispute is not different in kind from similar ones which have occurred in every State. No argument can add anything to the force of this simple and selfevident interpretation of the Constitution. The proposed action of Congress, the election ordered by it and conducted by national officials, would be a palpable, defiant violation of its spirit and letter. If accomplished and acquiesced in by the people, it would be a virtual declaration that our boasted organic law, with all its limitations and restraints, was a mere form of words, to be disregarded and treated with contempt upon every occasion when the necessities of party require it.

### Correspondence.

#### "AN ALLEGED DICTUM OF COPERNICUS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I must plead guilty to the charge of inaccurate citation alleged by "J. B. S.," and am much obliged to him for pointing out the error. It is hardly proper, however, to speak of Mr. Lewes as erring with me in attributing the dictum in question to Copernicus. In his 'Aristotle,' p. 92, it is true, Mr. Lewes appears to have regarded Copernicus as the author of the preface in which the dictum occurs, and he evidently cites it at second-hand, for he tells us that he does not remember where he found it. But in the Problems of Life and Mind,' p. 317, where he again alludes to the dictum, Mr. Lewes adds: "From Gassendi's work, 'Nicolai Copernici Vita,' 1655, p. 319, I find that the remark . . . was perhaps only due to Copernicus in the sense that he countenanced its publication, for it was not written by him, but by his disciple Osiander in the preface which he added when he gave the work of Copernicus to the public. It may therefore have been simply une précaution oratoire to render the heretical doctrine of the earth's movement less offensive." Possibly there may have been some covert sarcasm in the remark; i.e., "It is not necessary, my theological friends, for our hypotheses to be true, in the absolute sense in which your dogmas are held to be true, for it is quite enough for us if we can reconcile theory with observation." The distinction here indicated is at least closely akin to the distinction between the scientific and the metaphysical points of view which I have taken pains to elucidate. But whatever Copernicus or Osiander may have had in mind, it is plainly myself only, and not Mr. Lewes, who is responsible for the inaccurate shape which my quotation assumed. Perhaps I should add that at just the time when in London I revised this part of my book or the press, I did not have either of Mr. Lewes's works at hand, and depended upon a pencil-note in my memorandum-book.—Very truly yours,

HARVARD COLLEGE L'BRARY, January 15, 1875

#### A POLICY FOR LOUISIANA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sir: The leading article of the last Nation on "The Law and the Facts in Louisiana" closes with these unsatisfactory words: "As regards the proper mode of dealing with this question on the part of the public, it is difficult to know what to say." In this respect you seem to concur with the various speakers and public characters who have recently addressed the country on the subject. Have we not now had quite enough of "the law and the facts" in the case? Is not the one question the very question you

avoid? Here is a practical difficulty, and it calls pressingly for a practical solution.

My voice will not reach far amid the turmoil; but will you let me offer a suggestion? There are three parties, and three only, to this complication—the existing legislative and executive departments of the United States, constituting in fact the National Government; the people of the United States; and the people of Louisiana. The National Government now is, as the recent election shows, administered by those representing a minority of the people—the rump, in fact, of the once great Republican party. These men have apparently become bewildered by defeat, have lost their heads, and, seeking to settle everything through the decision of the caucus enforced by party discipline, are rushing as fast as they can upon their destruction. It is for the people to see that they do not carry the country there with them.

No calm and observing man can to-day doubt that a vast majority of the people are utterly opposed, on the Louisiana issue, to the existing Government. The adverse majorities of last autumn have quadrupled since the year 1875 began. One thing, and one thing only, can save the faction now in control of the Government—that one thing is a renewal of a flerce war spirit in the North, resulting from the violence of despair in the South. The relief of Louisiana is certain if no such reaction intervenes. At the outside, two years of patience only are necessary to bring the majority of the people of the country to the side of the people of Louisiana. Submission and patience are hard things; but for two years submission and patience it must be, or the result is in danger.

But what is to be done to-day? One thing that I can see, and only one, can be done. Let the Conservative Legislature of Louisiana give solemn notice to the whole world that they are now subjected by force to a usurpation, every act of which is null and void, and shall be so treated hereafter. Let them publicly declare that so surely as the day of relief comes, every debt contracted by the usurping government shall be repudiated, every tax-title issued set aside. Let them in one word publish to the world the existing administration of the State as a fraud, by no act of which will the people of Louisiana be bound, so soon as they are restored to the control of their

This one solemn notice given, let the Conservative Legislature hold up its hands in submission, and disperse; the rest may be safely left to the people of the whole country. Two years is a short time, when at the expiration of it relief is sure. During that brief time let no Conservative of Louisiana go to the polls or enter a legislative hall; the worse their oppression, the better. Let them simply submit. They need not fear that a day of reckoning will not come; and then the Government of the United States and all public opinion will justify them in treating their present rulers as criminals, and each and every of their official acts as absolutely and ab initio null and void.—I am, etc.,

C. F. Adams, Jr.

QUINCY, MASS., January 15, 1875.

THE "ACADEMY" AND THE "CARDIFF GIANT."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sin: My attention has been called to an article in the London Academy of December 5, which deserves wider circulation among American scholars than it is likely to receive in the columns of that journal.

The Nation of November 12 (p. 318), in a report of the American Oriental Society's meeting in New York, mentioned the "lively and amusing debate" that followed my review of "some recent discussions of the evidence of Phænician colonization in America," and remarked that much astonishment was expressed by members of the society at Dr. Schlottmann's "accepting as genuine that exploded humbug, the 'Cardiff Giant,' . a false antique which was completely exposed years ago, and of which the true character is known to all well-informed persons in this country." This notice seems to have given offence to Mr. Alexander Mac-Whorter, of New Haven-who professes still to believe in the giant and in the "Phoenician inscription" of which he was the discoverer-and drew from him a letter to the New Haven Palladium, which was printed in that journal November 16. The Academy copies part of this letter, and gives an abstract of the rest, as evidence that "the statue of Adonis, discovered in America"-meaning the Cardiff Giant aforesaid-"still continues an apple of discord among American scholars." Mr. MacWhorter wrote that Prof. White, of Yale College, pronounced certain "stories of the recent manufacture of the statue, in plain Saxon, lies," The Academy makes this expression apply to "all the stories of the recent manufacture of the statue," and remarks: "This is the language which professors of the same university use towards each other in America." The final comment on the

whole matter—which the *Academy* chooses to regard as "by no means settled"—is in the tone which some correspondents of that journal seem privileged to assume when dealing with "American scholars" generally:

"When will American scholars learn to speak gently? We read in the same number of the *Pulladium* of a 'Lacerated Actress attempting to Cowhide an Editor': do the members of the American Oriental and Philological Societies behave much better?"

I take no exception to the largeness of the figure which presents the gypsum colossus as "an apple of discord," though I cannot but wonder how Flaxman would have treated it in outline. Fancy the good Dr. Schlottmann figuring—in the attitude of Persico's Columbus—as "Discordia tetra," poising in air the ponderous malum (the Latin word is convenient here), to bowl it back over the Atlantic, to the discomfiture of American scholars! But, as I have said, I do not object to the figure. To the statement—which Mr. MacWhorter's letter does not authorize—that, at the meeting of the Oriental Society, I "declared the Onondaga statue 'to be a false antique,' "etc., I have a right to object. The words quoted by the Academy are from the Nation's comment, not from my paper. I would as soon have "declared" my want of confidence in Barnum's "Mermaid" or Mark Twain's reported discovery of the grave of Adam.

No member of either the Oriental or the Philological Society has, so far as appears, spoken otherwise than "gently" of the giant, the inscription, or the discoverer. The language which Mr. MacWhorter attributes to Prof. White was, as the context most clearly shows, not used towards another professor in the same university, or in any other. The suggestions of the Academy on the points are, to say the least, uncalled for.

It is but justice to Dr. White to add that, far from using hard language towards all who pronounce the Cardiff Giant a "sham antique," he has not yet announced to the public his own decided belief in its antiquity. His first and last utterance, so far as I can learn, was by a letter he addressed to Mr. MacWhorter in 1871, before the true history of the statue was generally known. He then wrote: "I cannot say that it was not made (as some claim it was) within two or three years; but I could not be satisfied [the italies are his] with any such view." Again, "I am not, on the other hand, certain that it is a work of ancient art"; and finally, "Though not fully decided, I incline to the opinion that the statue is of ancient origin."

"Nothing would seem to be more natural," the Academy suggests, "than to wait till the matter has been fully investigated." Would it have been an excess of courtesy to assume that it had been investigated, and, to quote again from the Nation, "completely exposed, years ago"? Among the members of the Oriental Society present at the New York meeting were some "who were personally conversant of the main facts in the history [of the statue], who had seen and talked with the workmen in the Chicago shops where it was produced, who had examined the dim lines asserted to be an inscription, and found them mere scratches or water-marks," and so on. Mr. MacWhorter suggests, it is true, a doubt whether the "well-meaning citizens" who make up the Oriental Society are qualified to judge whether the inscription was Phonician or not; but this consideration does not affect the real issue-to try which, any jury of well-meaning citizens of average intelligence is as competent as a full congress of German Orientalists, or the most valued correspondent of the Academy. Admitting that Professors Salisbury and Whitney, Dr. Woolsey, Dr. Hayes Ward, Mr. S. Salisbury, and their associates were none of them so "well informed, according to the German standard," as is Mr. MacWhorter, they may yet be qualified to pass judgment on the age of the statue, on evidence quite independent of the "inscription," real or imaginary. If they knew that the block of gypsum from which the Adomic was carved was taken a few years ago from a quarry near Fort Dodge, iowa, and that it was fashioned in the workshop of Mr. Burckhardt, a well-known marble-worker of Chicago, it would be hardly worth their while to proceed to the "investigation" of the Phænician inscription. To be "well informed" on these points, one has only to look through the files of any respectable journal of three or four vears ago. In July, 1871, the editors of the American Journal of Science (Third Series, vol. ii., p. 73) "thought it worth while to record very briefly the real history of this sham, that it may find its place in the already large catalogue of popular delusions." The main facts of this record were "ascertained from an intelligent witness, who was cognizant of the origin and progress of the statue," and whose statement the editor "had taken pains to verify." I cannot learn that this statement has been controverted or its general accuracy seriously questioned by American scientists or scholars, Mr. MacWhorter excepted. But if further evidence were needed, it could be had in abundance. I have before me memoranda supplied by one who knew some of the parties to the fraud, and who was at the pains of

tracking the giant's progress, stage by stage, from the Iowa quarry to the exhumation at Newell's farm in Cardiff; showing the mode, cost, and date of transportation, and giving ample details of the process of manufacture. The complete gypsography may be worth printing for foreign circulation, now that Dr. Schlottmann has introduced "the exploded humbug" to German scholars, and the Academy elects to stand as one of the godfathers of "the statue of Adonis discovered in America." For this side of the water the matter is already "fully investigated." The Adonis received its deathblow when Prof. O. C. Marsh, the palæontologist, of Yale College, who saw it before its exhumation, called attention to one fact which other visitors had overlooked-the fact that gypsum is soluble in water. The statue was found in wet ground, near the bank of Onondaga River. It was uninjured by the water in which it lay; therefore, its interment was recent. Such additional evidence as was offered by the straw which Prof. Marsh found mixel with the earth taken from the pit was not needed to assure him that the work was post-Phœnician.

So far from "continuing an apple of discord," the Phænician Adonis is not likely to provoke any body of American scholars to other than a "lively and amusing debate," if that can be called debate in which all the speakers are of one opinion. Let me repeat what the Nation has said, in the article to which reference has been made: "If German scholars have been incautious enough to have been taken in by so gross a cheat, they have no one but themselves to blame for it."

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

HARTFORD, CONN., Jan. 14.

### Notes.

PORTER & COATES, Philadelphia, will publish in the course of the next few weeks an 'Elementary Philosophy,' by James M. Wilcox, Ph.D.; 'Social Science and National Economy,' by Prof. Robert E. Thompson; and Augustus J. C. Hare's 'Days near Rome.'-- J. B. Lippincott & Co. have begun publishing, under the direction of the trustees of the Rotch bequest, a new edition of Swedenborg's theological writings. 'The Apocalvpse Revealed,' in two volumes, is now issued .- The American Unitarian Association celebrate their half-century by publishing Channing's works in one volume of 931 pages at the low price of one dollar. A passage which we have chanced upon in the letter on the slavery question, p. 817, contains a tribute to the late Gerrit Smith which might well furnish an inscription for his tombstone: "A man worthy of all honor for his overflowing munificence, for his calm yet invincible moral courage, for his Christian liberality, embracing men of every sect and name, and for his deep, active, inexhaustible sympathy with the sinful, suffering, and oppressed."-The "monumental edition," as it is called, of Mr. John Carroll Power's 'Life of Abraham Lincoln' (Springfield, Ill.: E. A. Wilson & Co.), two-thirds of which is given up to an account of "the great funeral cortége," has a curious map "showing the birthplace and course of life" of Lincoln, and also the route of the cortége. The restricted area in which he acted out his part in the history of the country recalls the outery of "sectionalism" brought against him as a candidate for the Presidency. Many of his predecessors, however, were no better travellers than Lincoln; and few, if any, personally inspected so large a portion (relatively) of the United States as had Washington before his election.

—The San Francisco News-Letter, in its pursuit of quacks, is preparing a complete medical directory, giving the names and qualifications of every doctor in the city. Those without diplomas, or with forged or purchased ones, are pilloried every week in the paper, under the heading: "Gentlemen, you call yourselves Doctors. Have you a Diploma?" A list of names and addresses follows.

—The annual report of the Librarian of Congress shows a total of 274,157 volumes, including duplicates, which, under the working of the copyright law, tend steadily to increase. They offer, however, this advantage in the proposed removal of the library from the Capitol, that a sufficient collection can be left behind for the immediate use of Congressmen. Mr. Spofford makes it clear, we think, that a separate building is a necessity, and that for public use and convenience it should be erected in a part of the city somewhat removed from the Capitol. Already more than "fifty thousand volumes are piled upon the floors, without space for shelving or arrangement," and a great number of maps and engravings are kept out of sight for the same reason. The librarian and his assistants are engaged on an abridgment of the titles of the card catalogue, preparatory to printing an exhaustive but condensed catalogue. A still more considerable work has

also been undertaken, being no less than a complete index to the documents and debates of Congress. The search for materials for this purpose revealed the fact that "of the early documents up to the Fourteenth Congress, or from 1789 to 1815 inclusive, no two sets are alike, nor is there in any one place in Washington a perfect file of documents printed by order of Congress." After the last-mentioned date, the Library of Congress lacks only about one hundred and fifty volumes of having two copies of every document.

—The pamphlets in the Library are estimated at 53,000. How they are catalogued or kept does not appear, but as the subject is one of some importance, no less in private than in public collections, we append here an extract from the recent report by Mr. Julius Dexter, librarian of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio in Cincinnati. The eard system is used, he says, for bound volumes:

"The pamphlets are similarly catalogued, and their cards are consecutively numbered in red ink, while those of bound volumes are numbered in black ink. A glance at a card thus tells whether the title belongs to a volume or to a pamphlet. Each pamphlet is numbered to correspond with its card, and the pamphlets are then arranged, without regard to subject, numerically in pasteboard boxes, a little larger than the ordinary 8vo size, and about two and a half inches deep, with a common cover. When the box is filled, it is numbered on the outside end with the numbers of the first and last pamphlet within it, and placed flat upon the shelf. The next box filled continues the series of numbers, and goes on to the first box, and so on the pile is built up. Shelves break the pile at every fourth box, and thus in no case can more than three boxes require to be moved to get at any pamphlet. If any pamphlet is demanded, the card catalogue, arranged alphabetically according to author and subject, shows whether the library has a copy, and likewise the number of the pamphlet, which can then be obtained from the numerically arranged boxes without trouble. This arrangement of pamphlets keeps them clean and uncreased, and likewise makes them as accessible as bound volumes. There is also great economy of space in it. A series of reports may be seattered through a dozen boxes, widely separated, but the eards come together in the catalogue drawer, and readily indicate the place of each report."

-Part I. of Gen. F. A. Walker's Statistical Atlas of the United States (New York: J. Bien) relates to the physical features of the country, and is in artistic execution decidedly the finest of the series. The double map XIII.-XIV., for instance, showing the geological formation, is printed in nine colors, and is really beautiful to look at. Plate I.-II. of the river systems has a political significance given to it by the addition of statistics, in each case, of area, population, products, steam and water power, etc. What we may call the North Atlantic watershed, from Maine to the confluents of the Potomac, appears to have the largest population and the greatest amount of steam and water power. The South Atlantic watershed is the chief rice-producing district. The Gulf watershed cast of the Mississippi is the cotton district par excellence. The Ohio basin takes the lead in tobacco and corn. The Mississippi Valley above St. Louis is the wheat granary of the continent; the same Valley below is the sugar-producing district. In area, the Missouri basin of course is foremost, with more than half a million of square miles. Those of the Colorado and Columbia, and the Great Basin, are nearly equal with each other and with the Ohio-from 200,000 to 300,000 square miles. The Ohio stands second in population. The Lake systems (E. and W.), the Arkansas, Gulf (W.), Rio Grande, San Francisco and Vancouver Bays, are some of the other subdivisions of this remarkable map, over which we must not tarry longer, though it would be easy to do so. Plate III.-IV. shows extent of woodland. emphasizing the lumber supplies of Northern Michigan and Wisconsin, the Adirondacks, Northern Maine, the pine forests of North Carolina, the Gulf forest belt from Florida to the Pascagoula River, the timbered regions of Oregon, California, and the head-waters of the Missouri and the Columbia rivers. The treeless Plains and Great Basin are conspicuous here, as on the following map for lack of rain (Plate V.) Plate VI. shows the frequency with which storm centres pass over given tracts E. of the 100th meridian. Here the stormy character of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence watershed is markedly portrayed, with the 46th parallel as the height of turbulence. Quite isolated is a stormy area in Nebraska including Fort Randall, Yankton, etc., of the fifth degree of intensity-the highest but one. Plate VII. is a chart of mean temperature, indicated by isothermal lines-36° at Pembina, against 76° at Matamoras. Plate VIII, shows mean temperature in the hottest and coldest weeks of 1872, by isothermal curves: the three hottest tracts being about Wilmington, N. C., the border line of Florida and Georgia, and the junction of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Chart IX.-X. exhibits curves of annual means of the barometer; Chart X.a, the curves of elevation of the United States. Especially interesting is the map of coal-fields east of the 100th meridian (XI.-XII.) The restricted area of the anthracite-in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island and

Massachusetts—is in broad contrast with that of the bituminous coal, which stretches from Pennsylvania to Alabama, and from Iowa to Texas, with connecting fields in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. These are still better shown together on Plate XIII.-XIV. before alluded to. With the present Part the Atlas is completed, so far as the graphic features of it are concerned. In preparing it Gen. Walker has had the co-operation of recognized authorities on the several subjects delineated, as he duly acknowledges. The text to illustrate the entire work is all that is now wanting to this admirable enterprise.

-Prof. Wilibald Grimm, of Jena, well-known to students of German theology, has published as one of Von Holtzendorff and Oncken's Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen' a valuable lecture originally delivered before his Jena students on 'Luther's Bible and the Textual Revision of it' (New York: L. W. Schmidt). He gives very interesting information about the German translation that preceded Luther's and Luther's execution of his work, describes the great effect his translation had at the time and continues to have upon his country's speech, and quotes, in conclusion, with criticisms, various changes made by the revisers. Numerous notes give copious references to the literature relating to Luther's translation, considered in its history and in its effect upon the German language. We are surprised and disappointed at the treatment this body of New Testament revisers has thought proper for the notorious text, 1 John v. 7: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." They have enclosed it in brackets with this note merely, that the "words in brackets are wanting in Luther's translation, and were added to it afterwards," Prof. Grimm says the revisers ought to have remarked that the words are wanting in the Greek also. Accuracy would have required them to say that there is not the slightest ground for supposing the words to be of apostolic authority; that there is no record of them before the fifth century; and that they occur in only three Greek MSS., the oldest of which, on good authority, cannot be referred to an earlier date than the eleventh century. Even Mr. Spurgeon can here teach the Germans boldness in accepting the sure results of criticism. He instructs his people from the pulpit that the text cannot be considered an integral part of the Bible.

-A remark by Prof. Grimm upon the Vulgate's choice of supersubstantialem as the rendering of epiousion (¿πιούσιον) in Matt. vi. 11, suggests the curious reflection that in the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "give us this day our daily bread," the real authors of the petition in the mouth of English-speaking Christians are King James's translators, and we have no assurance that their word "daily" conveys the precise qualification intended to be applied in this petition for bread by the original author of it, nor is there a hope of our ever coming any nearer to the thought which at the time of making this prayer was in the mind of the Founder of Christianity. Any one may convince himself that this is true by looking into the commentaries. The word epiousion is practically a hapax legomenon, occurring elsewhere only in the parallel passage in Luke. Origen considers the word as invented by the Evangelist, but gives no etymology of it, If he is correct, and if Professor Hadley's dictum is also true, that the writers of the Gospels were men by no means scholars in Greek, it appears to be a justifiable conclusion that we must remain standing between the two etymologies proposed for the word, one of which derives it from the noun ousia, and the other from the participle iousa, "bread necessary for our subsistence," and "bread for the coming day." The latter rendering we should judge to have the weight of ancient testimony, as it occurs in the Arabic and Ethiopie versions, and especially Jerome says that in the Evang. sec. Hebraes the Hebrew word signifiying "to-morrow" stood here. On the other hand, there are objections to this interpretation, the commentators tell us, arising from the use of the phrase "this day" previously in the verse, and from Christ's command to take no thought for the morrow, although the argument against "to-morrow" from the last consideration may, as is clear, be pressed too far. There remains, then, the conclusion that in the Lord's Prayer, which we suppose we may say is for childhood at least Christianity, and whose different petitions are in general as familiar as anything in the New Testament, we are unable to say whether, when we use this special petition, our thoughts are at one with the thoughts that inspired the teacher of it. As specimens of the carelessness and the dogmatism with which commentaries may be written, we may perhaps point out here that Lange ad locum says it would be "of course a mistake to apply the passage with Olshausen and some of the Fathers to spiritual nourishment exclusively, or even to the Eucharist," whereas Olshausen actually says: "The reference to bodily nourishment, on which the existence of the whole man depends, should not be excluded-nay, it

may even be regarded as the immediate one." A strange way Prof. Lange has of treating his neighbor. Olshausen, on the other hand, goes on immediately to make a remark which is one of a kind that tends to bring theology into disrepute with thinkers trained to observe after scientific methods: "But the spiritual food must be looked upon as included, since otherwise the important petition for the spirit of God would be entirely wanting in the prayer." The thing to know, the scientific thinker would reply, pace Prof. Olshausen, is not what the prayer ought to say, but what it does say.

-Father Augustine Theiner, Protestant-born (at Breslau, 1804), was by profession a Prussian cavalry officer, when he became a convert to Catholicism in 1831, and shortly afterwards took orders. Through various degrees he reached the post of archivist of the secret Vatican archives, and enjoyed the full confidence of the present Pope, and even, in the early days when Pius IX.'s leanings were notoriously liberal, his sympathy as against the Jesuits. These gentry, among their other misrepresentations, had studiously disguised the true character of the proceedings at the Council of Trent, to which the church mainly owes its organization and discipline and exact doctrine, and that tendency toward centralization to which the Œcumenical Council gave the finishing touch. The Jesuit Pallavicini, for example, in his history of the Council of Trent, took pains to conceal or falsify the speeches which many learned and prominent bishops made in opposition to the tendency just referred to. When Theiner obtained the Pope's permission to publish the original pieces relating to the Council, every obstacle was thrown in his way. He had gone so far as to set up a printingoffice of his own in Rome with the aid of the Pope and of the Emperor of Austria, and had begun printing, when the Jesuits persuaded the former to revoke his permission, and the work was indefinitely postponed. Towards the close of his life, which ended only last year, Father Theiner renewed his labors in this direction, and having carried his manuscript to Agram, in Croatia, was superintending its passage through the press when death overtook him. Learned friends of his in that place resumed the work where he left it, and the report of the Council has now been published in two large quarto volumes.

#### BROOKE'S THEOLOGY IN THE ENGLISH POETS,\*

NDER this title, Mr. Stopford Brooke publishes a series of lectures upon Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Burns-lectures delivered to his London congregation on Sunday afternoons. The greater part of the volume is devoted to Wordsworth, who is treated of in eight out of the fifteen chapters. Mr. Brooke enjoys much reputation as an eloquent preacher of the extremely liberal school, and these discourses afford evidence both of his eloquence and of his liberality. They strike us as rather too fluent and redundant-the common fault of clerical writing; but they contain a good deal of sensible criticism and of suggestive moral analysis. Mr. Brooke does not always clinch his argument very sharply, but the sentiment of his remarks is usually excellent. His moral perceptions are, indeed, more acute than his literary, and he rather too readily forgives a poor verse on the plea of a fine thought. He gives us a great many passages from Wordsworth-the most prosaic of poets as well as the most poetic-in which the moral flavor has apparently reconciled him to the flatness of the form more effectually than it will do most readers. The author's aim has been to construct the religious belief of the poets from their works; but this aim, as he advances, rather loses itself. His "theology" merges itself in general morality-in any considerations not merely literary. With the exception of Cowper, indeed, we should say that none of the poets we have named had, properly, a theology; their principal dogma was that it is the privilege of poets to be vague. Coleridge, indeed, as a philosopher, "went in," as the phrase is, for the supreme sanctity of the Church of England; but Coleridge as a poet, in so far as he is now read or remembered, had little to say about creeds and churches. In a poet so vast and suggestive as Wordsworth we may find a hint of almost any view of the origin and destiny of mankind that one is disposed to look for; and we think that the author has made the stages and subdivisions of the poet's intellectual history rather too rigid and definite. Of course, Wordsworth was, on the whole, a Deist; but he was a Deist with such far-reaching side-lights into the realms of nature and of human feeling that one fancies that readers of the most adverse spiritual tempers must have often obtained an equal inspiration from him. Burns, as Mr. Brooke admits, was no positive believer at all, and he rests his interest in him on the fact that he was so manly and so human-so perfect a subject for redemption and salvation. Of Burns Mr. Brooke writes very well, and probably as few clergy-

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Theology in the English Poets. By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A.' New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

men—apart from certain Scottish divines, whose patriotism has anticipated their morality—have written of him. "He was always—like the Prodigal Son," says the author, "coming to himself and saying, 'I will arise and go to my Father"; but he never got more than half-way in this world."

Mr. Brooke glances first at the theological element in English poetry before Cowper. "The devotional element which belonged to Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and some of the Puritan poets, died away in the critical school which began with Dryden and ended with Pope. The 'Religio Laici' of Dryden is partly a reproduction of the scholastic theology, partly an attack on the Deists, and it does not contain one single touch of personal feeling towards God." The author recognizes Pope's devoutness of heart ; but he illustrates this same absence of the personal accent in his verse. To that of Cowper three things belonged: "Passion, the personal element, and the expression of doctrine." It is puzzling, at first, to be called upon to attribute "passion" to Cowper. Theological he was-terribly, fatally theological-but of how admirably he humanized his theology these lines, quoted by Mr. Brooke, are an example. Mr. Brooke contrasts them, for passion and personal feeling, with one of those familiar fine passages from Pope, in which the rbythm is that of the pendulum, and the philosophy so bent on keeping on terms with the epigram, that one loses half one's faith in its consistency. They seem to us extremely touching:

"I was a stricken deer that left the herd
Long since—with many an arrow deep infixed
My panting side was charged when I withdrew
To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
There was I found by one who had Himself
Been hurt by the archers. In His side He bore
And in His hands and feet the cruel scars.
With gentle force soliciting the darts
He drew them forth, and healed and bade me live."

Mr. Brooke writes at some length on the poetry of Man and the poetry of Nature as the later poets of the last entury handled them, and makes several very good points. They underwent a very similar developmenta transition from the abstract to the concrete, from the conventional to the real, the general to the individual; except that Man, at the poet's hands, rather anticipated Nature. What the French would call "intimate" human poetry was fairly established by Goldsmith, with the help, later, of Crabbe; but Nature, as we look at her nowadays, did not really receive anything like her dues until Wordsworth began to set the chords a-murmuring. If the history of that movement toward a passionate scrutiny of Nature, which has culminated in England, in our day, with Tennyson and Browning, could be scientifically written, we imagine it would be found to throw a great deal of light on the processes of the human mind. It has at least drawn into its service an incalculable amount of ingenuity, of imagination, of intellectual force. There are descriptive phrases and touches in Tennyson and Browning which represent, on this subject, an extraordinary accumulation of sentiment, a perfect entanglement of emotion, which give the key, as it were, to a civilization. Mr. Brooke quotes from "The Ancient Mariner" several examples of Coleridge's subtlety of observation of natural phenomena, which are peculiarly striking in a writer of his loosely reflective cast. But, what with Wordsworth and Shelley and Keats, subtlety of observation was then in the air; and Wordsworth himself, moreover, is a proof that observation feeding on Nature, and meditation feeding on itself, are processes which may very well go forward in company. Mr. Brooke gives us as the last word of Coleridge's theology, after many vagaries:

"Oh! sweeter than the marriage feast,
'Tis sweeter far to me
To walk together to the kirk
In a goodly company!"

Of Wordsworth. Mr. Brooke writes diffusely-too diffusely, we think, for discretion; for there are reasons in the nature of things why a prolonged commentary on the author of the "Prelude" and the "Excursion" should have an air of superfluity. He is himself so inordinately diffuse that to elaborate his meaning and lead it through further developments is to double the liability to irritation in the reader. He ought to be treated like a vast enclosed section of landscape, into which the reader may be turned to ramble at his pleasure. The critic may give us a few hints-he may hand us the key; but we should advise his making his bow at the gate. In the fine places we wish to be alone for solemnity's sake; and in the dull ones, for mortification's. Mr. Brooke, who is evidently a most zealous and familiar student of the poet, undertakes to relate the complete history of his poetical development on the moral side. It is, of course, an interesting story, though it rather drags at times, and though its conclusion is, as Mr. Brooke admits, an anti-climax. The conservatism into which Wordsworth stiffened in the latter half of his career was essentially prosaic, and the "Sonnets to Order" read really like sonnets to order in another sense. But one is thankful for the opportunity of dipping into him again on any terms;

for the sake of a few scattered lines of Wordsworth at his best, one would make one's way through a more importunate commencary than Mr. Brooke's. For Wordsworth at his best certainly soars at an altitude which the imagination nowhere else so serenely and naturally reaches. There could surely be no better example of the moral sublime than the lines to Toussaint L'Ouverture:

"Thou hast left behind

Powers that will work for thee,—air, earth and skies;
There's not a breathing of ille common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconcerable mind."

This is very simple, but it is magnificently strong, and the verses beyond their intrinsic beauty, have for us now the value of carrying an assurance that they have played a part and rendered service—been a stimulus and an inspiration—to many readers. The author has, of course, much to say on Wordsworth's almost fathomless intimacy with Nature, and he quotes these lines in illustration of that imaginative force which had expanded, through years of open-air brooding and musing, to its amplest reach. Wordsworth is speaking of London and its vast human interest, which, to his mind, seemed filled

"With impregnations like the Wilds In which my early feelings had been nursed— Bere hills and valleys, full of caverns, rocks, And audible seclusions, dashing lakes, Echoes and waterfalls and pointed crags. That into music touch the passing wind."

The author mentions elsewhere, among Wordsworth's inimitable descriptive touches, his saying of a lonely mountain lake:

"There sometimes doth a leaping fish Send through the tarn a lonely cheer."

That alone seems to us, in trivial parlance, worth the price of the volume. It is fair to Mr. Brooke to transcribe a specimen of his criticism; the following seems to us a favorable one:

"Our greatest poet since Milton was as religious as Milton, and in both I cannot but think the element of grandeur of style, which belongs so preeminently to them, flowed largely from the solemn simplicity and the
strength which a dignified and unbigoted faith in great realities beyond
this world gave to the order of their thoughts. Coleridge was flying from
one speculation to another all his life. Scott had no vital joy in his belief,
and it did not interpenetrate his poetry. Byron believed in fate more than
in God. Shelley floated in an ideal world which had not the advantage of
being generalized from any realities; and not one of them possesses,
though Byron comes near it now and then, the grand style. Wordsworth
alone, combining fine artistic powers with profound religion, walks when
he chooses, though he limps wretchedly at times, with nearly as stately a
step as Milton. He had the two qualities which always go with the grand
style in poetry—he lived intensely in the present, and he had the roots of
his being fixed in a great centre of power—faith in the eternal love and
righteousness of God."

Mr. Brooke intends, apparently, to take up the other poets in turn. Tennyson and Browning, as he says, are full of theology; and in the many-colored transcendental fumes and vapors of Shelley the theological incense mounts with varying density. But with Byron and Keats it will take some shrewdness to discover it. In treating of the theology of Byron, indeed, Mr. Brooke would have a subject worthy of all his ingenuity.

#### PREHISTORIC MAN IN EUROPE.\*

N this volume of four hundred and fifty pages, Mr. Dawkins gives the results of his "researches on the evidence of caves respecting the early inhabitants of Europe." As was to be expected by those familiar with the author's previous publications, the present volume is a careful digest of the subject, containing not only his personal researches in caves and in bone deposits, which were many and thorough, but also an examination of the writings of other investigators both in Great Britain and on the Continent. The work is thus made a complete and critical review of the evidence of the antiquity of man in Europe; it being conclusively shown that in the old time of the paleolithic man the British Islands were connected with the continent of Europe, and formed a part of the great tract over which roamed the many animals since extinct or driven by change of climate to other quarters. The subject is a vast one, and needed just such critical treatment on geological and historical grounds as our author has given it, and certainly no one was better prepared by long and thorough research than he. After careful scrutiny of every fact that can be sustained on purely scientific principles, he has proved that man lived in Europe during the pleistocene age and hunted the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the stag, the reindeer, and many forms of animals now extinct

\* 'Cave Hunting. By W. Boyd Dawkins.' Illustrated by colored plate and wood-cuts. Svo, cloth. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

or only existing in remote regions; and, so far as can be judged from the stone and bone implements and the engravings upon them, that this earliest race of men in Europe was akin to, if not the same as, the Eskimo of Arctic America.

Mr. Dawkins designates the several periods of time during which the caves have been occupied by man and beast as the historic, prehistoric, and pleistocene. He then considers the changes that have taken place in the wild animals of the country from the time of Julius Cæsar, and the introduction of animals by man at various periods; and these are referred to as forming most important data in determining the age of the deposits in the several caves containing their remains, associated with those of man. Along with this a very interesting table is given, showing the date at which each species was exterminated or introduced, as the case may be. The thorough examination of the Victoria Cave, and the way in which Mr. Dawkins relates the story in his work, form a most interesting chapter, covering the border-line of history and geology. We are here told how the caves were used as places of refuge by the defenceless people on the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain and the overrunning of the country by the Picts and Scots; and how, at last, when driven to despair, the inhabitants succeeded, in turn, in repulsing their Pictish and Scottish enemies, only to be conquered anew by the invasion of the English. All this time the caves were as important as places of retreat and shelter as they had been in the far earlier days before history gave names to the races who occupied them. The occupation of the caves during the historical period is thus summed up: "The relies must have been accumulated in the two centuries which elapsed between the recall of the legions in the days of Honorius and the English Conquest. They are traces of the anarchy which existed in those times, and they tell a tale of woe wrought on the Brit-Welsh by Pict, Scot, or Englishman, as eloquently as the lament of Gildas or the mournful verses of Taliesin. They complete the picture of the desolation of those times revealed by the ashes of the villas and cities which were burned by the invaders.'

The historic period, during which the caves were occupied by known races of men, is but as a day in their vast history. Before this period many of them were inhabited, or used as places of burial, by the neolithic men, and previous to their time by a still earlier race, the first of which we have any record in Europe. While treating of the prehistoric period, or the second division in time in a backward series, the contents not only of the caves are considered, but those of the chambered tombs as well, and a thorough, critical essay on the characters of the skull and other parts of the skeleton is introduced, written by Professor Busk. This is illustrated by cuts, exhibiting the forms of the skulls and the peculiar flattening of the shin-bones, or platyenemism, which is now believed to be of less value as a race-character, and one more indicative of habits, than was supposed when its extreme form was first noticed in the skeleton of the now famous old man of Cro-magnon.

The relations of the two races of this period, the dolicho-cephali and the brachy-cephali, are thus summed up by Mr. Dawkins:

"From the examples given in the preceding pages it is evident that, in ancient times, long-headed men of small stature inhabited the whole of Britain and Ireland, burying their dead in caves, but more generally in chambered tombs. They were farmers and shepherds, and in this country in the realistic states of sulture."

in the neolithic stage of culture."

"No human remains of the brachy-cephali, or broad type, have been obtained from the caves in Britain. The evidence, however, is decisive that, in the bronze age, a tall, round-headed, rugged-featured race occupied all those parts of Britain and Ireland that were worth conquering, and drove away to the west or absorbed the smaller neolithic inhabitants. And the identity of their skull form, in the series of interments in the round and bowl-shaped barrows extending from the bronze age down to the date of the Roman occupation of Britain, shows that, both in the North and the South, this large-sized, coarse-featured people was in possession at the time of the Roman Conquest."

We cannot here follow in detail the contents of the sixth chapter of the work, in which the range of these two races of people is traced by a review of the evidence furnished from all parts of Europe, and therefore we give only the following conclusion of the chapter:

"In this outline of the ethnology of Gaul and Britain, it will be seen that two out of the three ethnical elements (if the Belgic be classed with the Celtic) of which the present population is composed, can be recognized in the neolithic users of caves and builders of chambered tombs. A non-Aryan race either identical or cognate with the Basque is the earliest traceable in these areas in the neolithic age, and it probably arrived in Europe by the same route as the Celtic and Germanic, passing westwards from the plains of Central Asia. There is no evidence of Spain having been peopled from Northern Africa, the identity of the Berber and Kabyle with the Basque being due to their being descended from the same non-Aryan stock

in possession of Southern and Western Europe and Northern Africa. They are to be looked upon as cousins rather than as connected by descent in a right line. The Basque race was probably in possession of Europe for a long series of ages before hordes, either identical or cognate with the Celts, gradually crept westward over Germany into Gaul, Spain, and Britain, driving away, or absorbing, the inhabitants of the regions which they conquered."

In the next chapter, under the heading of "Caves containing human remains of doubtful age," in which group is classed those of Cro-Magnon, Engis, Neanderthal, Mentone, and others not so familiarly known, a careful consideration of the statements that have been made is given, and Mr. Dawkins is forced to believe that the interments in them do not indicate a greater antiquity than the neolithic time of the prehistoric period. Cannibalism is also alluded to in this chapter; and from the evidence given by a cave on the Island of Palmaria its occasional occurrence at least cannot be considered as a "mere idle tale or poetical dream," though all the caves of Europe yet explored afford only "some three or four examples in the neolithic and bronze ages," while in still earlier times there is no well-substantiated evidence of the practice. The rest of this important volume is devoted to the evidence furnished of the earliest race of man in Europe, and here the author brings the great resources of geology and palæontology, which he has so well at command, into the most thorough service. The immense interval of time which elapsed between the pleistocene man and his successor of the neolithic age is discussed and made fully apparent; the glacial period has also to be treated, in showing that this pleistocene race was unquestionably so closely connected with that period as hardly to leave a doubt that it was both a pre- and post-glacial race. Then the geological evidence of the submergence and elevation of certain districts is treated in full, and the effect that such changes have produced is vividly pictured, as in the following instance:

"The discovery of mammoth, rhinoceros, horse, Irish elk, bison, wolf, lion, and bear on so small an island as Caldy, indicates that a considerable change has taken place in the relation of the land to the sea in that district since those animals were alive. It would have been impossible for so many and so large animals to have obtained food on so small an island. It may, therefore, be reasonably concluded that when they perished in the issures Caldy was not an island, but a precipitous hill, overlooking the broad valley now covered by the waters of the Bristol Channel, but then affording abundant pasture. The same inference may also be drawn from the vast numbers of animals found in the Gower caves, which could not have been supported by the scant herbage of the limestone hills of that district. We must, therefore, picture to ourselves a fertile plain occupying the whole of the Bristol Channel, and supporting herds of reindeer, horses, and bisons, many elephants and rhinoceroses, and now and then being traversed by a stray hippopotamus, which would afford abundant prey to the lions, bears, and hyænas inhabiting all the accessible caves, as well as to their great enemy and destroyer, man. We shall see in the ninth chapter that the elev tion of Northwestern Europe, and no mere small or local phenomenon."

The evidence of man in other regions at this early time is also given, as, for instance, in India and Palestine; and after a description, with figures, of many of the works of art, the implements of bone and stone, of this early race in Europe, and the character of the animals of the time, the comparison with the Eskimo is made resulting in the almost conclusive evidence that the Eskimos of North America are the same people as this oldest known race of Europe. To review this part of the work would almost be to copy it in full, and we must terminate an altogether too hasty notice with the following quotations from its concluding pages:

"No remains have been discovered up to the present time in any part of Europe which can be referred with certainty to a higher antiquity than the pleistocene age. The palaolithic people or peoples arrived in Europe along with the peculiar fauna of that age, and after dwelling here for a length of time which is to be measured by the vast physical and climatal changes described in the last three chapters, finally disappeared, leaving behind as their representatives the Eskimo tribes of Arctic America. There is no evidence that they were inferior in intellectual capacity to many of the lower races of the present time, or more closely linked to the lower animals. The traces which they have left behind tell us nothing as to the truth or falsehood of the doctrine of evolution; for if it be maintained, on the one hand, that the first appearance of man as a man, and not as a man-like brute, is inconsistent with that doctrine, it may be answered that the lapse of time between his appearance in the pleistocene age and the present day is too small to have produced appreciable physical or intellectual change. Also, it must not be forgotten that we have merely investigated the antiquity of the sojourn of man in Europe, and not the general question of his first appearance on the earth, with which it is very generally confounded. Dr. Falconer well remarked that the origines of mankind are to be sought, not in Europe, but in the tropical regions, probably of Asia. To these we have no clue in the present stage of the enquiry. The higher apes are represented in the European meiocene and pleiocene strata by extinct forms, uniting in some cases the characters of different living species, but they do not show any tendency to assume human characters. It must indeed be

allowed that the study of fossil remains throws as little light as the documents of history on the relation of man to the lower animals. The historian commences his labors with the high civilization of Assyria and Egypt, and can merely guess at the steps by which it was achieved; the paleontologist meets with the traces of man in the pleistocene strata, and he, too, can

meets with the traces of man in the pleistocene strata, and he, too, can merely guess at the antecedent steps by which man arrived even at that culture which is implied by the implements. The latter has proved that the antiquity of man is greater than the former had supposed. Neither has contributed anything towards the solution of the problem of his origin."

"The study of the remains which the caves contain has led to the recognition of the fact that the climate and geography of Europe in ancient times were altogether different from those of the present day. It has also made large a lditions to the history of the sojourn of man in Europe. We find a hunting and fishing race of cave-dwellers, in the remote pleistocene age, in possession of France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain, probably of age, in possession of France, Belgium, Germany, and Britain, probably of the same stock as the Eskimos, living and forming part of a fauna in which northern and southern, living and extinct, species are strangely mingled with those now living in Europe. In the neolithic age caves were inhabited and use I for tombs by men of the Iberian or Basque race, which is still rep-resented by the small, dark-haired peoples of Western Europe. They were rarely used in the bronze age. When we arrive within the borders of history in Britain, we find them offering shelter to the Brit-Welsh, flying from their enemies after the ruin of the Roman Empire, and throwing great light on the fragmentary records of those obscure times. In treating of these questions, it has been necessary to discuss problems of deep and varied interest to the ethnologist, physicist, and historian, some of which have been partially solved, while others await the light of the higher knowledge which will be the fruit of a wider experience.

#### RECENT NOVELS.\*

THE reader of Mrs. Ames's voluminous story called 'His Two Wives' will not want for fine names. Cyril King and Ethelinda Kane, Vida, Circe Sutherland, and the Rev. Athel Dane, taken in connection with the places they frequent, viz., Ulm, Lotusport, and Tarnstone, ought to satisfy the most exacting demand for romantic nomenclature. . The title and persons given, one easily divines the nature of the book, which is in fact a superfluously sentimental narrative of disastrous marriage, divorce, the husband's second wedding, and final reconciliation. The heroine, Agnes Darcy, is opportunely gifted with a talent for apprehending trouble with her husband; and, by consequence, she finds herself incompetent to ward it off when it comes. The tendency of her nose to become red when she is distressed, is represented as increasing the obstacles to a good understanding. Her husband, a gifted young lawyer, comes into notice as a politician, and is sent to Washington as a representative. Circe Sutherland stands for the siren who lures him from his wife's side; and Ethelinda Kane, being in love with him, but at the same time a trusted member of the household, acts the part of a "serpent in Elen" to increase the breach between them. When this breach has been duly widened, she discovers that she has only been assisting Circe to the hold upon his heart which she herself had coveted, and is finally turned out of doors by her. Meanwhile, Agnes has gone off with her "selfhood" and a reticule into the country, where she at once makes a hit in the millinery line, and follows it up by writing booksamong them an extraordinarily good novel, which, if it were all it is here painted, we should vastly like to have had given to us by way of compensation. In this solitude she engages the affections of an intellectually proud young clergyman of the Episcopal Church, whom she cures of his previous arrogance toward women, though this does not, indeed, seem to have been very difficult of accomplishment. Here also she begins to feel a prescient dread of something about to happen, one winter's night; and immediately Ethelinda drives up in a sleigh, dying of consumption and anxious to make a confession of all her wiles. After this the husband has a stroke of paralysis, is neglected by his new wife, and Agnes returns to the house, thrusting her daughter into the sick man's room to take care of him. and then flying into the night again, despite their endeavors to make her stay. She embarks for Europe, and contrives on the way to witness the loss of a French steamer with Circe on board. Once across, she wonders why she does not hear from her daughter, who promptly appears, with her cripple I and repentant father. They then go home, settle down, and talk over the whole matter good-humoredly; the elergyman concludes to marry the daughter, instead of Agnes, whose returned husband playfully pretends to be je slous of him. We must credit Mrs. Ames with a certain energy of delineation, but it is a desperate and gasping energy, which has suppressed all sense of humor, and has consequently admitted absurdities of which she appears to be unconscious. Her absorption in her work is doubtless a good

sign, but we should hail it more hopefully were it not true that her story is very poorly constructed and the development of character clumsily managed. Her literalness of representation (in one place descending to a conversation on soothing syrup) is frequently dreary; and the book is distinguished by the fault common to the most of such accounts of commonplace domestic quarrelling, that of taking what we may call the bedroom view of life. On the whole, therefore, we do not see in this first effort any promise of satisfactory artistic achievement in what the writer herself would describe as "the ultimate."

Of 'The Lost Model' it is quite impossible to give any coherent account. It is written in a sort of "talented-young-man" style, and runs glibly through a maze of ordinariness and vulgarity difficult to describe, Among the numerous and insignificant personages introduced is the wife of an unscrupulous newspaper editor. She has previously had an amour with one Redwood, and has allowed the editor to buy her for his wife, with an understanding that she is to remain disloyal to him; and this is the way in which she talks to Redwood:

"Do you know what I was thinking of, Albert? Listen. I wish in my heart that Leonard would lose every cent he owned in the world, and then, my dear boy, he would sell me to you for a hundred dollars."

The first part of the book leads up to the murder of this lover by the hurband. Not that this has anything to do with the story; but nothing which oecurs in the course of it has, so far as we can discover. A girl called Renata seems to be intended for the heroine; and a mysterious creature, Parthee by name-whether Indian or Spaniard is not made clear-floats before us as the "lost model." He acts as model to a sculptor (who also has nothing to do with the story), and is "lost" in this way: toward the end of the novel he is depicted as going away for a year or two, leaving Renata in love with him, and promising to come back; after which he-or his ghost-returns abruptly on the eve of her wedding with another man, and vanishes in a thunder-storm, leaving her dead. The entire production is marked by a saturnine dissatisfaction which makes it extremely profitless reading. Its realism is of a kind that would recognize in eigar-ends and bar-room sawdust matter highly congenial to the novelist's purposes. Twice or thrice in the space of nearly four hundred pages the writer strikes out a brief spark of fancy, and we suppose a bit of symbolism to be intended in Parthee, who is perhaps conceived as a model of some finer race, lost to the worthless beings about him. But so little of this is conveyed that we feel in some danger, through attributing it to the author, of diverting from ourselves the credit of what has really been a stout effort of the imagination, viz., the apprehension of this symbolism. Whatever he may have intended, he has not had the skill to render it distinctly visible. As it stands, the book is the most bewilderingly imbecile imitation of a novel which we have for some time past encountered: yet it may chance to be of use to aspirants for distinction as American novelists, emphasizing as it does through its errors the necessity of great æsthetic stability in the American writer of local and realistic fiction, to enable him to resist the confusing haste, impermanence, and vulgarity of some of those phases of life he is to deal with.

In turning from this volume to Norman Macleod's posthumous 'Starling,' one sees by the light of sharp contrast how much it is in a novelist's favor to have settled social custom to rest upon; for we fancy it is largely from that source that the little story draws its wholesome quietness and solidity. To this is added a fair measure of literary skill, however, which is by no means so unimportant a factor of success as many of our indigenous geniuses would seem to consider it. Thus it happens that a careful, educated writer, not confused by the notion that with him alone rests the duty of revealing to the world the real nature of an entire national life, is able to make a credible and sufficiently entertaining story out of the love of an old soldier and his wife for a bird which excited some Scotch children to noisy merriment on the Sabbath, and which the parish minister held should be put to death. The disgrace and anxiety which for a time overshadowed them, and the circumstances that brought all right again, are detailed with a good deal of obviousness of edification and some padding, it is true, yet with the ease and completeness that come of a good school. We cannot, of course, countenance the appropriation of Sheridan's bon mot about drinking "like beasts" (p. 346) as original wit in the comedy man of the story; but in respect of construction and simplicity of key 'The Starling' is commendable, and will doubtless be read by many young people and some older ones who do not expect more than they can get from Dr. Macleod's tales.

A short novelette "from the German" closes our list, which bears the rather wandering name of 'Memories.' It relates in reminiscent form the love of a young man for an invalid princess, who, after much hesitation consented to marry him. The stress of emotion, however, put an end to

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;His Two Wives. By Mary Clemmer Ames.' New York : Hurd & Houghton.

<sup>1875.
&#</sup>x27;The Lost Model. A Romance. By Henry Hooper.' Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.
'The Starling. By Norman Macleod, D.D.' New York: Dodd & Mead. 'Memories: A Story of German Love. Translated from the German by George P. Upton.' Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1875.

her existence. There is little art and little life in the book; but it has that distant prettiness which belongs by birth, one would say, to German writers of idyllic prose.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR JANUARY.

CENERAL W. B. HAZEN contributes to the current number of the North American an article on the "Great Middle Region of the United States," in which he incidentally discusses the land-grant of the Northern Pacific Railroad. It is an article which the creditors of the Company will hardly find agreeable reading, or feel inclined, during the present session of Congress, to distribute as a broadside or tract for the dissemination of useful knowledge. Nor will the leading journalists, Congressmen, or prominent men who a few years ago were transported over the line of the road, be much pleased with General Hazen's way of speaking of them; for, while he disclaims all intention of accusing them of dishonesty, he does this at the expense of their brains-the two horns of the Congressman's dilemma being, in this case as in so many others, knavery or ignorance, Most of our readers remember probably the great official excursion over the Northern Pacific line, which brought back accounts of a wonderful region, variously called the "Northern tropical belt," "the continental wheat-garden," or, with vulgar and contumelious exaggeration, since the bankruptcy of the road, "Jay Cooke's banana belt," was, indeed, according to the maps distributed by the road, and the glowing accounts published from time to time, a pleasant land, with its summer isothermal line of 70° Fahrenheit, its fertile soil, its equable climate, and its prospective fields of waving grain. General Hazen, however, happened to be stationed at Fort Buford, on the Missouri, some two years ago, a post which is in the midst of the region in question, and his description of what he saw and felt makes it clear that considerable violence has been done to the isothermal lines and to the truth of science by those who have had in charge the preparation of reports. The hay-contractor, he says, in order to gather nine hundred tons of hay for the post, found that some twelve hundred square miles of the tropical belt was needed to furnish the supply, or, in other words, that one square mile of the continental garden produced three-quarters of a ton of hay. Besides this, the isothermal line of 70° Fahrenheit, the happy effect of which on the climate has been so often mentioned, and which, according to the railroad statistics, touches 51° N. lat., in reality passes through the post on the same meridian at 48° N. lat., or 180 miles further south. The spring, autumn, and winter isothermals, too, have not been generally furnished to emigrants, nor is any reference usually made on the railroad maps to the summer extremes (104° in the shade) or to the frosts which occur "nearly every month." The mean annual temperature is, according to General Hazen, 45°, and he speaks of having winter weather of 37° to 40° below zero, and terrific winter storms. These wide divergences between fact and representation General Hazen explains in this way :

"It has been common to make up excursion parties of newspaper-men, members of the Government, and citizens of large influence (always in the green months of May and June), to visit these sections. The roads all lie along the valleys of streams, and at that season give the idea of fruitfulness. These persons are never taken on transverse routes, where they would invariably find sterility, nor are they practical agriculturists. After an excursion of this kind, where every human want is anticipated, the press would be unnatural not to applaud, and the members of the Government mean, not to encourage, the enterprise. An obligation has been laid upon them all, and they have only seen the country at its best points and in its holiday dress. Men in high places have been employed, and paid for their services, in writing and speaking for these enterprises, and their writings and speeches used as advertisements in disseminating this deception. Their names are synonymes of honor and truth, but they, too, are deceived, and are made to deceive others innocently."

All this is very true, and General Hazen's indignation at the misrepresentations practised on the public with regard to that road will be shared by most people who read the article. At the same time, we confess to being left in considerable doubt as to the value of the grant even now, for General Hazen admits that some of it is good, and the principal German expert, whose official report was unearthed last year, did not question the value of the property, but denied the possibility of developing it rapidly enough to carry the enormous debt. The facts given in the rest of the article are worth attention, showing as they do that the occupation of the arable land in the "great middle region" between the Mississippi Valley and California has gone so far that the time has come, or is rapidly coming, when good land is no longer to be had for the settlement.

The "Reign of the Ring" is the title of the second of the series of papers called "An Episode in Municipal Government" which Mr. Charles F. Wingate, with the advice, consent, and assistance of Mr. Charles F.

Adams, jr., is contributing to the Review. If all the members of the "old New Yorkers," "Knickerbockers," and "Dutch families" who, for the fifty years down to the time of the war, neglected their political duties and shirked all responsibilities except that of becoming richer than they had previously been, would read these articles with care, they would probably get some adequate idea of the utter scorn and contempt and loathing with which the municipal government of this city during the Ring period will be looked back to by the older New Yorkers and Knickerbockers and Dutch families of a generation hence, when the excitement evolved by the actual struggles of the thieves over the plunder and the public with the thieves has passed entirely away, and nothing is left but foulness and The plain fact about Tweed and his fellows was that they were a gang of land thieves, gathered together from all quarters of the globe to plunder a rich corporation; that they plundered it with the aid and connivance of the respectable classes in the city, the chartered organs of public opinion, judges of the courts, and philanthropic reformers, whose support they got partly by bribes and partly by themselves promising to reform as soon as they secured money enough; and that this went on glaringly and publicly until one of their own members, not satisfied with his share of the spoils, "peached." It is on this account that we object-and it is almost the only thing in these articles with which we are inclined to find any fault-to the tendency to propitiate the national vanity, at the expense of the national good-sense, by magnifying the thieving and perjury and murder of the gang into something historically grand, picturesque, and "imperial." "No corruption was too direct and brutal for them; nor was any finesse too delicate"-" His [Tweed's] associates paled into insignificance in the glare of his splendid activity " "He had now fairly entered upon the full career of success, and was at the climax of his glory." The satire seems to be here a little too grandiose for gentlemen who were familiarly known among themselves as "Mike," "Hank," "Prince Harry," "Thunderbolt," and "Crow," not to speak of aliases used for legal ends-a motley congregation of pimps, thieves, murderers, jail-birds, blacklegs, fences, and ruffians.

In an article on the "wage-fund theory" Mr. F. A. Walker makes a lively attack on some of the received doctrines of political economy. The theory as generally stated is that there is always a portion of the capital of any given country which is needed and set apart for the payment of wages; that this fund is divided among the total laboring population applying for employment; and, therefore, if the supply of labor increases without a corresponding increase of capital, the rate of wages (the amount received by each laborer) will fall; if the conditions are reversed, the rate will increase. Mr. Walker wishes to have the term wage-fund discarded from political economy, for reasons which he explains at considerable length. As we understand him, he objects to the wage-fund theory that it is false because

"It excludes altogether the contribution which the new-comer, the additional laborer, makes to the production of the community in which he is so unwelcome an arrival. The wage-fund doctrine regards him as a pure addition to the divisor, without recognizing the fact that his labor must also add something to the dividend. He no longer contributes more, far more to production than the cost of his own subsistence, as in an advancing state of industry, before natural agents are fully occupied and employed. He no longer contributes as much as he requires. But he still contributes something, and that something, however small it may be, helps to swell the amount that can be paid in wages"—

and because "in all new countries, excepting only gold-producing regions. the wages of labor are paid in a small degree only out of capital, the results of previous industry, but mainly out of the product of current industry." He appears to believe that the theory of the wage-fund is the direct product of some special conditions of English industry, and is not to be regarded as an economical law at all in the sense that it was originally propounded. To any one who supposes that the "wage-fund," as it is generally understood, means a quantity of money "already existing," definite in extent," and "dedicated to a specific use," and that the capitalists of a country pay labor by first counting this up, then counting the number of men applying for work, and dividing one sum by the other, Mr. Walker's article would be likely to contain much salutary information; and the same thing might be said of any one who deduces, as a consequence of the wage-fund theory, that strikes and trades-unions can never under any circumstances affect the rate of wages paid in particular trades; but there are probably few people nowadays who believe this. Not even the most cold-blooded economist would advise a laboring-man who thought himself underpaid that the true way to find out what his wages must would be to ascertain the amount of capital in the country, and the number of laborers, and then divide the one by the other.

He would no more do this than he would say that because of the general law that profits tend to equalize themselves in various industries, therefore no one could ever expect to get more than seven per cent.

The number also contains an interesting account of Mr. H. H. Bancroft's great work on the native races of the Pacific States, by Mr. Francis Parkman; a review of Henry Wilson's 'Slave-Power,' by Mr. James Freeman Clarke; and some book-notices, among which is an interesting review of Cairnes's 'Principles of Political Economy.'

What I Did with My Fifty Millions. By Moses Adams. Edited from the posthumous MS. by Cæsar Maurice, Esq., of the Richmond (Va.) Wnig. (Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co.)—Criticism of this production from north of Mason and Dixon's line is disarmed by the heading of the titlepage-" For Virginians Only." It is but proper, therefore, to defer to Southern and particularly Old Dominion opinion of the author and his work; and fortunately this is furnished us in advance of the text. Dr. G. W. Bagby, according to the Bristol News, "is the Mark Twain of Virginia" according to the Norfolk Virginian, his "genius is akin to Lamb's," and he "stands pre-eminent as the essayist of Virginia, the pen-painter of Virginians, their life and manners, their foibles and their virtues." As for the purpose of the present work, the preface tells us that "those who read between the lines (as the French say) detect in all Moses's phantasies a lurking satire on the disposition made by poor old Virginia of her 'fifty millions on internal improvements." With the light thus afforded us we have read the fifteen "instalments" of Dr. Bagby's serial (originally published in the Whig). We cannot say that we have found it as amusing as the 'Innocents Abroad,' or that we were loth to lay it down so long as any instalment remained unread. Virginians only, we were soon convinced, were capable of being enchained or convulsed by it; in other words, that the humor of "Moses Adams" was dependent on local scenes, personages, and events which non-native or non-resident readers could not possibly appreciate. The latter must be interested in it, if at all, chiefly as a study of provincialism (we borrow the word from the Norfolk Landmark, for we would not go a step beyond our Southern guides). It represents, in fact, a state of society in Virginia in which everybody, his history and affairs, are known to everybody else in the community. As such, it has a certain value, and its value will increase as this transient condition vanishes. Dr. Bagby's "pen-pictures" of the already obsolete or obsolescent manners and customs of Virginia are spirited and faithful, and here and there, as "local color," one detects words and phrases which the student of Americanisms has learned to associate with the Southern portion of the thirteen colonies. The Doctor's sentiment can be commended without labelling it Elia, and his invention of the automaton of Commodore Porter may justify his reputation as a humorist. More than this we hesitate to say, for the reason stated in the beginning.

Literaturgeschichtliches Lesebuch für deutsch-amerikanische Schulen, von Karl Petermann. (New York: L. W. Schmidt.)-A reading-book of German literature, designed for German-American schools, might easily show a bias more doctrinaire than literary. This is not the case with Herr Petermann's compilation. Naturally, his selections and brief biographical notices-especially in the second part, from Uhland to the present dayare in sympathy with the liberal sentiment and patriotic revival in Germany during the last half-century, and of course during the past few years. Thus we have Rückert's "Geharnischte Sonetten" and Freiligrath's "Hamlet," along with Becker's "Der deutsche Rhein," Strass's "Lied von Schleswig-Holstein," and Schneckenburger's "Die Wacht am Rhein," representing so many stages in the progress towards German unity. A certain number of authors are mentioned whose lives as well as writings are particularly associated with the United States, such as Karl Postel "Charles Sealsfield"), and Friedrich Gerstäcker. Among these it would have been pleasant to meet with the name of Dr. Friedrich Kapp; but historical works are not reckoned part of the "Literatur" in which Louisa Mühlbach's productions are included. Dr. J. G. Kohl, another temporary sojourner in this country, and an antiquarian who was employed by the State of Maine on the history of its early discovery and colonization, finds a place in this reading-book, and on the faith of Herr Petermann we must conclude that he died in 1873, though his death has been more than once announced only to be contradicted. A pretty full sketch is given of Bodenstedt, whose 'Songs of Mirza-Schaffy' has occasioned a pleasant literary mystification (see the Nation, No. 300). The poetical print of this readingbook is too fine for even German eyes, let alone German-American. We have remarked a few typographical errors which need correction, the worst instance being 1772 instead of 1792 as the date of Gustav Schwab's birth.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.	Duklinkowa B	Mana
AuthorsTitles.	Publishers.—P	Arces
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